

Labor Number

# • YOUNG INDIA

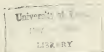
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Vol. III

MAY 1920

No. 5

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America to India

SCOTT NEARING

Greetings to Indian Labor

ROBERT M. BUCK

The Opium Monopoly

FRANCIS HACKETT

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## Our Art Section

### Head of Apisara

By ARANDA COOMARASWAMI.

The gray sandstone head of an *apisara*—a nymph or dancer of the legends of India—which we illustrate this month is a good example of Brahmanical decorative temple sculpture and may be assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. The face is youthful, full and serene, the hair elaborately dressed with intricate flowers, the hands are raised above the head and clasped in a gesture significant of ecstatic ecstasies. The arms and the whole of the figure below the neck are broken away.

## An Appeal

- ¶ In April 1919, just a year ago, 500 men, women, and children were killed and two thousand were wounded in a single massacre—at Amritsar, India.
- ¶ You have read, perhaps your friends have also heard of this. But millions of people in the world are, thanks to British imperialism, ignorant of the terrible conditions which have dyed Indian history in the blood of its noblest sons and daughters. Millions of men and women surely hear the name of India. Their sympathy and their understanding must be aroused if the cause of Indian freedom is to live.
- ¶ Young India has been struggling for almost three years to make for a better understanding of the Indian problem. Our resources are about at an end.
- ¶ Won't you put your shoulder to the wheel now and help us continue our work? Help us with your subscription to Young India, if you are not already a subscriber. Help us with contributions, small as they may appear to you. Help us to spread our gospel through pamphlets and books issued by Young India. Help us to expose the Imperialistic machinations of a government which is slowly starving to death 313,000,000 people of a high and noble civilization.
- ¶ Send us your name now. Tell us what you can do—what you feel it is your duty to do, if the liberty of a nation means anything to you.

YOUNG INDIA

1420 Broadway, New York.

YOUNG INDIA, May, 1920



HEAD OF AN *APISARA*

Young sculpture, South India. Height 114 centims.  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

# YOUNG INDIA

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## Editorial Notes

### The Indian Coolie

Much has been written and said of the Commercial Imperatives which dominate the world at present. No more striking example of this can be found than in India. Millions, millions, millions of Indians—all have understood to impress upon the mind of the Indian laborer the necessity for constant work and consequent prosperity. The words have been aptly described by the *Japanese Worker* as a secret national law the condition of labor in India.

Says the editorial, in part:

"The Indian coolie is a conscientious laborer from the day of his birth to the day of his death. He is a servant of mankind and a master of himself. He is not led away by 'Labor Day to me!' The coolie is the very incarnation of all the economic and industrial virtues. Not with all these virtues, he is the most exploited being that exists in the whole of humanity. For he is exploited beyond the limit of subsistence."

Official India has been increasingly pro-labor. Reports have been received in London from various parts of India, and every one of the world has recognized the working of human agency. More people have died of hunger in India during the war period than have been starved in all the battle-fields of Europe.

The average wage of the Hindu laborer of today is only sufficient to purchase about 50% of the money value (based on 1913) of the necessities of Indian life, and unless productivity in the industrial centers has reached the amazing figure of 400 per cent in India,

The one thing which the Imperial might are afraid in India is that the double draught of this unhappy country may follow the example of their fellows in other lands and raise the standard of industrial work."

### The Agricultural Worker

The agricultural laborer in India comprises over 75 per cent of the total population. His economic status has been declared the most important that can be found anywhere else in the world. The Indian rural is the pivot of the economic life of the greater part of the country. Nothing can give a better insight into the industrial and economic conditions of India than a study of the Indian rural life.

Several such studies have been made recently. One, by a Mr. Pannu, of Madras, is the subject of an article in the latest number of the *Madras Review*. Calcutta, Mr. Pannu made a survey of the conditions in the temples, performance to a general study for the whole of Southern India. His conclusions, though based on the observation of a rather limited field, may safely be applied to the whole of India, since the general conditions which he found prevalent among the group of workers in Madras are also to be found in other parts. There are some of the facts he presents:

Out of the two families studied, only

one was able to procure for itself the necessary minimum of food (30 annas per day per head) and that of the cheapest curries. None of the group could afford fish or meat, or even vegetables. Most of the group were in debt beyond hope of redemption. These miserable conditions were driving many of the unemployed labourers to the streets, or were forcing the others to sink to the level of landless agricultural labourers, without regular employment or means of subsistence. There was thus among an ignorant, penniless, or poverty-stricken and miserable in their factory habit.

Numerous recommendations have been made by investigators, high officials and private, for the alleviation of the situation of the agricultural population, whose condition is increasing the very existence of the entire country. But since no steps taken by the government would be detrimental to the tax revenues and incomes of Englishmen, a policy of benevolent concern and absolute inactivity is being pursued.

### The Status of the Cleric

Most of the attention which is directed to Indian labour is focused on the condition of the small hand and factory workers. There is, however, no great misery and poverty among the professional classes and the agricultural labourers can be found among any group of factory workers.

At a recent conference held at Bombay, the Cleric Union voted, for the first time in the history of industrial India, the plea of the Indian clerical body for recognition and alleviation of

their economic distress. The case of the Indian "white-collar class" is even more pitiful than that of the factory workers, if anything could be more pitiful. The body of clerical workers is small, and, used sparingly, was unopposed. The dominance of the demands which the present period of high prices and low wages forced the workers to make has been impossible and ineffective, because of their lack of strength.

The most acute suffering has been in the housing and nourishment of the families of the clerical workers. As was pointed out at the Conference, the factory workers are to a certain extent more fortunate in their lot, since their wives and children can work in the mills with them. In the case of the clerical worker, however, one person must be the support of the entire family. The children of such families rarely have the opportunity for higher education, and can therefore seldom attain the same position which their fathers hold.

Add to this the pressure brought to bear on the workers by the exorbitant rates and prices of foodstuffs. Such common articles as milk, butter, and rice have risen from 30 to 400%. Breads have been doubled, and tripled, and with a growing population, it has become almost impossible to find accommodations. The reason for the swelling of population is declared to be the interference of agricultural labourers with the industrial concern to find employment.

Numerous recommendations were made by the Conference, including reduction in working hours, provision of pensions, and increase in salaries. Requests were also made for the adoption

of a system of education which would make it possible for the children of the clerical community to obtain elementary education, at least. Suggestions were also made for the creation of cooperative stores for the sale of food and clothing, as has been done in other in England and America, where the lot of the clerical workers is also several degrees worse than that of the manual labourer.

### Labour and Violence

Minions has been made in a previous number of the various means which took place in conjunction with the strike of mill workers at Jamshedpur, Bombay. An explanation of the action of the workers (if such action needs any explanation) has been offered by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who recently visited the United States as a representative from India at the International Labor Conference at Washington.

In an interview, Mr. Joshi said:

It is not difficult to understand why there have been violent strikes in Bombay. The workers' conditions are miserable—they are overworked and underpaid, and they have no means of expressing themselves other than by these demonstrations. They throw stones, smash things up a bit. The mill owners appeal to the Government, and the groups are called out. But the sympathy for the bloodshed has with the employers and the government and also the effect of public order police and parastate and conditions in case of Bombay in May.

More than anything else has the news of the recent disturbances brought to light the changing spirit of the people, who for centuries have passively submitted to tyranny and tyranny. Confirmation of the fact was made by Late Lajpat Rai, in a recent letter to Young India in which he states:

"The change in the spirit of the people is simply wonderful. You cannot deny it except on all sides. The most remarkable change is in the psychology of the man in the street. He seems suddenly to have emerged into national consciousness, with rights. The passive generation is full of confidence and fire."

### Great Britain and France

We are often told that Great Britain is the most just and generous colonizing nation in the world—that it treats its subject peoples with more consideration and grants them more freedom, more privileges and more protection than any other. Is this true? Let us see.

France gave Algiers and other of her African colonies representation in her Parliament in Paris. Does Britain give India representation in her Parliament in London?

Upon close study of the plans we see that not all of India is under British rule. France possesses five very small colonies in India—namely, Mahé, on the West coast, Karikal, Pondicherry and Yanam on the East coast, and Chandernagor, a small island in the delta of the Ganges. These five small colonies have altogether a total of about two hundred square miles, with a population of about 600,000. Yet France allows them to send two representatives to the French Parliament—one to the Chamber of Deputies, and the other to the Senate.

Thus, while France gives her 600,000 Indian subjects two representatives in her national representative body, Great Britain gives her 325,000,000 Indian subjects no representation in her National Government. Is this benevolence, generosity, or statecraftship?

### The Muslim Issue

As stated in our last number, the discussed *Muslams* on March 19th, which had been called upon at the first Khilafat Conference on March 1, took place all over India according to reports received by the *Muslims* in London, all recent date.

The governing of the situation may be deduced from the speeches and resolutions passed at meetings held on the *Muslims* (formation of *Muslims*) Day. At a gathering on Sunday, the Highness, the *Muslims* declared that this was the most serious situation in the history of India, and that the only hope for the preservation of *Muslims* between the Turks and the Arabs was a new educational program. A sum of \$14,000 (about £4,000) was subscribed at this one meeting alone.

At another meeting, Mr. M. K. Chaudhary urged that the Turkish question be settled in a manner compatible with Muslim interests in India, for any other settlement, he warned, would result in the withdrawal of cooperation from the government and that under such circumstances the *Muslims* would receive the right to rule such regions as they thought fit. The resolutions passed at the meeting forthrightly stated that the last stage of the Khilafat movement would be a bloody one.

A significant feature of the agitation is that throughout the country *Muslims* are setting aside their Muslim brethren to have a just settlement of the problem. At Madras Hindu and Muslim students assembled in tens of thousands to protest against any constitutional discussion of the *Muslims*.

In London the apprehension of the government was evidenced at an utterance which was given to the Indian Khilafat Delegation by Premier Lloyd George, namely: The hostile attitude of the *Muslims*, however, has given rise to even more serious feeling throughout the Muslim world.

### The India Aid Committee

As one of its most active the India Information Bureau in January, 1920, organized a Committee to help and advise Indian students who have been coming to this country in large numbers. A report of the work of the Committee has just been received.

The report tells of the reception of several students who arrived in New York, the securing of accommodations for them, and the assistance paid to the health of some of the members who were in poor condition upon arrival. To those of the new arrivals who had come to study, advice about universities in the United States was rendered. Assistance was also given in securing for them employment until the summer session of the universities would begin. Fellowship work to a limited extent was also started. Letters were sent to Indian papers urging those desiring to come to the United States to communicate to authorities that arrangements might be made for their speedy landing, since in one or two of the recent cases some difficulty was experienced. In all, the work of the Committee seems to be most satisfactory, and heavy thanks are extended to the members in whose efforts the activities have been due.

### India's Death Rate

The March 19 issue of *India*, our London contemporary contains several interesting items gleaned from the debates in India in the House of Commons. One of these deals with the death rate of India for the years 1913 to 1917. The figures presented by the government are:

1913	100	58.72 per thousand
1914	—	50.00 " "
1915	—	49.94 " "
1916	—	49.00 " "
1917	—	48.33 " "
1918	—	54.72 " "

In the United States, the death rate per thousand (1917) was 24.5. In other words, for every two deaths in the United States during 1917, there were about four deaths in India.

The why and wherefore of these conditions are too well known to need comment.

### General Sherwood on Indian Freedom

The Hon. Isaac Sherwood, who was in the American Civil War and rose from the rank of a private to that of a General, who has repeatedly represented Ohio in the United States Congress and who, throughout a long life, has been one of the best known and most honored political leaders in the Middle West, wrote on the following for publication:

The movement for a free and free India is not to be. The United States cannot do this until we are prepared to give up the world war for democracy. Since, since the war was won, every strag-

gling people should be guaranteed the right to be the master of his own destiny.

Of course I am for a free and free India, and for a free Ireland and a free Egypt. I have many moments, both of head and of heart, in going to every liberty-loving people the right of self-determination and self-determination, unimpaired by any or all of the dominating forces, operating under any despotic power, either of superior intelligence or of force and law. For the sake of right across the world and every of right I shall always work and pray.

### India's Hope \*

In the nineteenth century was dominated by the abolition of human slavery, in the twentieth century, before it passes into history, is marked by the end of the everlasting subjugation of man to foreign domination. Self-determination is more than a mere, breath of wind. In crystalline form a potent phrase the same thought which our ancestors embodied in the American Declaration of Independence, namely, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It is no more to struggle to find that principle as was recently done in the British parliament. Now can it be laughed to scorn. A doctor respect for the square of mankind requires that powerful nations shall treat the weaker ones with justice. The fact that Great Britain has equally failed to be guided by this principle upon its last treatment of Ireland, Egypt and India, has aroused the conscience of mankind against her. The selfish exploitation of India and the starvation and neglect of the economic welfare of its people the practical ex-

\* By Hon. Mr. Anthony J. Gifford of the 22nd Connecticut District of New York, Member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, Washington, D. C.

immolation of half the population of India by tyranny and exploit in the last eighty years, and the masses of Egypt's overrunning on the eve of the Peace Conference have all combined to fill the world to-day with the thought that Great Britain is not secure in her pretensions of Democracy.

While British policy justifies and condones and leaves unrepented the perpetration of the American massacre, the great British people must suffer the humiliation of seeing their government everywhere everywhere massacred. I have no doubt that the deep and widely prevalent sentiment underlying the rejection of the League of Nations is due to this situation.

If the English people themselves are not so vitiated by the realization that their government is not doing justice either to themselves or to the spirit of the age the only course that remains is to shun them and a colder attitude by shunning them that their conduct has the widespread disapproval of the entire world.

### India and Japan

Sixty years ago the people of India were universally regarded by Europeans and by Americans who were acquainted with the Orient as superior in civilization and in intellectual ability to the Japanese, or the other nations of the East. Japan has now had sixty years of independent government and freedom, to shape her own career, and what is the result? Today the minds abroad of the foremost nations of Europe and America.

How about India? I also has had the "advantage" of a hundred and sixty years of rule by a foreign power—

by Great Britain. If foreign rule is an advantage to Asian people, if Great Britain can rule Asian people better than they can rule themselves, then India, with her six years of British rule, ought today to be far in advance of Japan.

On the contrary, instead of standing ahead of the world's greatest nations, she has an unusual standing at all. She is a mere subject land, a dependency of a foreign power, "belonging" to that foreign power, unable to make a single law for her people, not permitted to control a report of her own revenues. From one of the richest nations in the world she has become the very poorest. While Japan has been going forward in everything, India, a country far richer in spiritual, mining and almost all other resources, has been standing practically still, and in some things has gone backward—as for example in the material wealth of her people. Japan has become a great manufacturing nation, has the British government of India has taken pains to keep India from, and thus her abundant raw materials, and thus becoming her own people, instead of contributing to the wealth of English capitalists. Japan has sent her young men in great numbers to study at European and American universities. The government of India while furnishing the greatest facilities for education within its borders, has discouraged young men from going abroad for fear that they might embrace too many ideas of freedom.

It is my wonder then that Japan has advanced and that India has not? Is it my wonder that Japan is growing in power and influence, and in wealth, while India is dying in poverty?

## U. S. Congressman May Visit India

At the April meeting in New York of the Council of the India House Rule League of America, it was reported that a party of ten members of the United States Congress is likely, during the coming summer and early autumn, to visit Russia, the Philippine Islands, Japan and China, for the purpose of obtaining first hand information to guide them in future legislation. It was the unanimous judgment of the Council that an effort should be made to induce those gentlemen to extend their journey to India and make a study of conditions there also. Accordingly, invitation was given to Dr. H. S. Hamilton, General Secretary, to send a letter to those Congressmen in the name of the League, urging to them such an invitation.

The following extracts have been taken from the letter:

Washington, D. C., April 8, 1920.  
Honorable Sir:

Having learned that you and other Members of Congress are planning to visit the west, Japan, China, and the Philippines during the coming summer with a view to forming yourselves in to conditions in those countries and not having with the name of India in your itinerary, the India House Rule League of America, an organization of Hindus and Americans, of which I have the honor to be the General Secretary has entrusted me to urge you and your fellow members to visit India during the trip.

India, a land of Oriental grandeur and beauty, offers you many astounding things to see. She offers you marvelous and unique buildings like the Taj Mahal—one of the wonders of the world. She offers you natural gardens and parks the like of which are nowhere to be seen. A visit to Calcutta, the metropolitan city of the country, will be enjoyed by you and your friends. The ancient and modern buildings and many

throughout the country have something different to each place to present and you may see the greatest ruins here for the Hindu civilization has advanced and what is coming to the world. The art and architecture, the culture and literature of the people of India are not surpassed. No one can realize the truth of this statement who does not visit the country and run with the people.

Besides, you will be able to make a study of the Indian people their interests and customs and their political education and moral character. You will also be able to make an extended survey of the population of American commerce and trade in this country.

India is suffering immensely. Sixty years ago, as much as that nation that half of her total population does not get much one complete meal a day. Scarcely any income there. The average life of an Indian in 1920 years. The death rate in 1917 was 100 per thousand. Everywhere the people ask for relief. Education is denied them. Throughout the land, almost the special schools have been destroyed. The people are terror and discriminated. In addition there is a strong desire for political freedom. The reasons for these conditions are not known to the outside world. By visiting India, you will be able to know just why she is suffering and what may be done to stop the suffering. You like are sure to find a solution to this that beautiful land, and, by so doing, you will be rendering service not only to yourself but also to humanity.

Once in India, the people of the country through their representative organizations—The Indian National Congress—will most heartily welcome you and entertain you. Their representatives will be glad to discuss any wherever you go and will do their utmost to make you feel at home in their guests, and the India House Rule League of America will gladly contribute toward your expenses.

I am in Washington at the Congress Hall Hotel and will be glad to talk over the mat-

or with those who desire to work India. I will be pleased to hear from you both your acceptance of our statement.

Very truly yours,  
W. S. Hurlbut, General Secretary.

A number of replies to this statement have been received, all of them expressing no interest in India, and a hope that circumstances may permit at least a part of the Congressmen to visit that historic land and study for themselves the conditions existing there. We have space for only one of these replies. We give below that from the Hon. C. H. Rowdell, of California, the leader of the

Congressional Party proposing to visit the Orient.

My Dear Dr. Hurlbut:

I have your letter of April 8, extending an invitation to members of Congress to go and visit the Philippine and to explore India. I am sure that every member of the party would be anxious to do this at once, per se. I have talked with several and all express the deepest interest in India and her problems.

I am anxious you to know that a much larger party of members, possibly one in ten, arranged for a round the world trip to explore that March.

Very respectfully,

C. H. Rowdell

## Strikes in India

The past several months have brought news of a most startling, almost unbelievable, nature about labor in India. Mention was made in our last issue of the several strikes at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. These are but the centers from which the news has emanated striking spreading like wildfire all over the country. It is impossible to estimate the number of strikes which have taken place since January, 1920. A partial list of the cities which have been affected will suffice to illustrate the awakened spirit of the Indian laborer.

Strikes in the north of India took place at Allahabad, Jalandhar, and Lahore. In the west of the country the centers affected were: Sholapur, Bhatia, and Bandra. Disturbances in the south were confined to Madras. In the east Calcutta and Jalandhar led the movement. At Nagpur were represented the activities in the Central Provinces. It will be seen from this that every im-

portant center has been one of labor uprisings.

The strike movement is significant not only for its sweeping, but also for the variety of trades which it embraced. The Bombay mill strikers gave the oil workers, and the railway dockmen at the distant seacoast to walk out in sympathy. Motor drivers, numbering a thousand, struck at the same time, as did also waiters in the Indian Royal Marine dockyards. At Madras the strike took place largely in the mill district, though there was a decidedly rebellious spirit among the postal carriers, and other workers. At Calcutta the workers at the Central Jute Mills walked out, to be followed by workers in three other mills, thus paralyzing the mill industry. Miners, numbering over 20,000, also struck. At Nagpur the famous railway shop men left work. At Jalandhar the workers in the huge plant of the Tins Iron and Steel Co. walked out. At Allahabad the workers on the

of the leading newspapers, walked with the strike spirit, walked out.

An Calcutta 2,000 government workers struck for higher wages, followed by the workers in Rangpoor, who presented a most "radical" program.

Eight hour day  
Sunday holiday, with pay  
Increased wages

This is sufficient to show how very widespread the strike movement was.

A peculiar phase of the labor problem in India is that everywhere the demands are the same. At every strike the strikers have been, almost without exception:

Increased in wages  
Shorter work day, from twelve to ten or eight hours  
Bribeless, as promised by the factory owners.

Previous food shortages  
One day rest in week.

Simple and urgent as these requests are, few have been granted. Promises are usually made to the strikers, to bring them back to the mills, but as soon as they begin to return the mills owners immediately revoke these hardly made demands, and then prosecute an other strike.

There are, in addition, sufficient reasons for strikes. Any survey of the living conditions is convincing proof of the great need for proper. Means of labor and sanitary conditions have become chronic complaints. The provisions of the Factory Act which permit laborers to work ten twelve and fourteen hours a day need no comment. The degrading conditions brought about by exposure and lack of sunlight in the factories

are also too well known to deserve further consideration. The unbecomable misery of the worker's life under these conditions is easily imagined. At a recent meeting of the Madras Economic Conference much attention was devoted to the housing problem. The following description from one of the reports on the show is characteristic:

"The houses are built on the ground without a plank and in very weather are never dry. When the ordinary water supply becomes clogged with sewage rather than the compounds or from the drainage pipes themselves the conditions of the houses can hardly be imagined by those who have not seen them. It has been stated that the death rate in one roomed tenement is six per thousand, figures which are more eloquent than any words to describe the evils arising from bad housing."

Add to these conditions an abnormal rise in the prices of the most necessary of foodstuffs, without an accompanying rise in wages and it becomes obvious that conditions warrant the most drastic action. While wages have risen about 50 per cent during the period of the war, prices of such staples as rice, lentils, etc., have risen from 50 to 150 per cent.

The unusual, unbearable pressure on the Indian is the handicapped cause for strikes and for the growth of the labor union movement. It is gratifying to note that the outcome of the Bombay Mill strike was a Tenure Worker's Union, that at Madras, even civil servants, such as Patrick Curran, have formed themselves into a union, that the workers of the largest factory in

the distress—that of the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway Workshop—have depressed, and that the impulse for organization has been given by the representative body of the Indian people

—the Indian National Congress—which at its last session urged the workers throughout the country to cooperate and work together for the common cause of India.

## A Labor Revolt in the Fiji Islands

The Fiji Islands are a group in the South Pacific, comprising a British Crown Colony. The agricultural development of the colony, particularly the development of sugar plantations, within the past forty years, has been largely due to the labor of Hindus imported into the colony under a system of indentures. The exploitation of the labor contracts have been exacting and the housing and other conditions of the workers have been so bad that great suffering has resulted as well as a very high death rate. After many and serious complaints the Indian natives took the matter up and condemned the whole system of indentures which for many years has prevailed not only in the Fiji Islands but throughout the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire. Lastly the treatment of the laborers in the Fiji sugar fields has been so odious that a revolt has taken place. The following letter sent to the New York Call and to Young India gives the particulars of the expression of sentiment. Our correspondent says:

Despite the season of winter that has been raging down by the Canoe on the bay, persons at Fiji at the end of January and early February last, I have been privileged to witness a report of the young among the Indian indentured coolies "strikes" there.

The events in the Bay which has been temporarily put down by three of ours, were not of a dispute between the native indentured labor and the expatriate one

men operating in these islands, constituting one of the worst forms of slavery known to civilization—a system of indentured labor involving untold misery of mind and body and death by various means in India where the laborers came. It is known that 50 per cent of the men who enter Fiji to work in Fiji had been reduced to beggary and almost perished by the corrupting agents in India. A coolie bringing from 500 on the morning will die in 24 hours by his own and 10 cents per day for himself, and it also prohibits compulsory prohibition and rationing of water in the whole country (one woman being charged the value of four men). The housing and living conditions have been degrading and abominable in the extreme. One of the slavery and indenture and degradation the sugar economy has been able to give natives of justice. The terms of a new only failed when, some time ago the women of India, throwing aside their quiet disposition, were engaged in great meetings of protest as a result of which they were able to exact a promise from the British Government that everything should cease and that by November last, there should be no Indians working under indenture in Fiji.

The struggle in Fiji is the result of the awakening of the Indians. Reduced to their common position by a University official, the already freed Indians in Fiji are putting up a fight in the industrial field. There are no political methods there to honor the indelible conditions under which they and the still indentured slaves have been working. Fearing that the struggle would spread and as the New Zealand government is apparently not in a state of mind to give up a large number of indentured laborers, they have appealed to New Zealand to end the dispute. Latest reports to hand are that the dispute has been "settled"—temporarily at least.

The action of the New Zealand government in sending an armed force to Fiji, some four miles inland, calls for the most serious consideration. At the same time, if it is by no means a foregone conclusion, it is likely to be used in the future in any of the population countries of the world. Even if Fiji had been under the control of New Zealand, the dispatch of an armed force there would have been sufficient to call for consideration as the strongest possible measure by the British government, but the same consideration must be given when an armed force can be sent from New Zealand against another part of people over which New Zealand has no control whatever.

The meeting of the armed force in Fiji to quell the Indian rising shows that those in still the British empire at the coming time for the settlement of India, and the more noticeable war that the way this it was given in Fiji. In taking the the treatment of the New Zealand against the indentured appears to have been given in to the words of the rising, not was it mentioned if there had been any attempt to settle the dispute

peacefully. It was clear from the past that indentured men who were wanted, that the Indians alone in Fiji had to be coerced back into a state of bondage, which is an unbearable degree in any country which flies the British flag. As the Indians were arrested, the statement that there was a danger to life was so much said and heeded. All that the New Zealand government did was to follow the good old British procedure which is to make Indian slaves along with others, recognize that the Foundation of British rule is based on slavery labor, and that once the foundation is shattered, civilization is lost in a state every means to prevent it. Little wonder that the poor indentured slaves of Fiji haunted in between starvation and slavery on the one hand and the armed forces of Law and Order on the other have been driven back into the life from whence they came and some more oppression (and in the future when maybe they will be able to realize that freedom in which they are common with other people in the glorious planet of "justice and liberty" are entitled.

## Workers in India

Greetings from America

By Robert M. Black.\*

We read the workers in India are organizing into labor unions. That means the Freedom for India has made a real start.

The hope of the world lies in the organization of the masses. Poverty there will be; suffering there will be; unhappiness, ignorance there will be; all of these things will always be the misfortune of all the people of the world until the masses are organized to act together. It is so in the United States. It is so in India.

Intellectual Hindus with the clear

vision of knowledge and wisdom may raise the cry for freedom, great parties may arise for the Indian people hounding in their houses may show how eloquent it will be, all India is everywhere, only the steady, irremovable march of the countless mass of workers that will achieve freedom for India and her children and her daughters.

It does not matter so much how the workers organize, so that they organize.

Nearly one hundred are out of the population of all countries are the workers. Less than one per cent of the population of all countries are the countries who are wealthy and exploit the workers. In many countries, like India, the

\*R. M. Black is Editor of *The New American*, the Chicago organ of the American Labor Movement.—Ed



workers are not of the population of the country as a whole, but are of other countries and come at other times, making the millions they oppress all the harder to bear.

These masters have no powers that other men lack. They have no magic. They combine to work ideas and soldiers. They spread ideas that we workers, because we are foolish, accept and use to govern our method of life. Education will free us from these false ideas. Our ideas are better than theirs because we look forward to the betterment of all mankind, instead of to personal enrichment. We need only to realize this to have confidence in our way of looking at things. We must meet the ideas these masters seek to impose.

The soldiers they combine to work are common ordinary men just like the rest of us. Any man that we get ourselves organized they will not be able to get workers to act as soldiers to oppress their fellow workers and then they will be powerless.

And even while they have soldiers, the masters are powerless when the workers are well enough organized to stop production, with an army stream of gold into the pockets of the masters. Soldiers cannot wear cloth. They can, not more. They cannot take the place of workers on the mills and factories and on the highways.

Unorganized, the workers are powerless to defeat the masters. They cannot organize a strike. They cannot act together. When the workers are organized they will so far outnumber the masters that the masters will be powerless.

So we of the American Labor move-

ment are glad to hear that the workers of India are organizing into labor unions. We bid you be at good courage. The masters will try in every way to make you stay out of the unions. Do not do it. They will discharge workers for joining the unions. Get another job and stay in the unions. If your unions get strong enough to make them hire you, they may try to bribe you not to join by shortening hours and raising wages, or by pretending to help you against men who say that they, the masters, will control. Stay by your own union. Have nothing to do with their unions.

When the workers of every nation organize into unions, the masters will no longer be able to play one nation off against another nation to keep wages down.

It is not enough to organize only in unions. It is necessary to do that, but it is also necessary to organize the workers into their own political party, so that the workers may control their own government. The masters cannot control their own lives, cannot decide peace and slavery, cannot give constitutions and happiness without controlling their government. They must have political democracy and they must have industrial democracy. They cannot have industrial democracy without political democracy and they cannot have complete political democracy without industrial democracy.

So the workers of India should organize a Labor party as well as labor unions and vote together on the same way that they will strike together when they have to do that in fight against.

There are stepping stones to liberty. C.

The Labor Party of the United States has achieved itself as freedom for the workers of India. I am sure that if there is anything the Labor Party of the United States can do to help India get freedom, it will do it cheerfully. The Labor Party of the United States

wants all people to be free, and its heart goes out especially to India for the brutal persecutions that the workers of India have suffered. It hopes the workers of India will organize quickly into labor unions and into a Labor Party.

## The Opium Monopoly

By FRANKLIN MACKINTY

"One thing I can say positively and without fear of informed contradiction, the inspiration of British policy during the period I have just seen it has been, if possible to bring order out of chaos to extend the boundaries of freedom to unjoin the lot of the oppressed to increase the material prosperity of the world."

These are the words of Sir Archibald Gairdner, the new British ambassador to the United States. Whether he believes them or not, I do not know. He is a Scotch Presbyterian, and much as possible a Scotch Presbyterian. But, sincere as he is, he is a person of considerable official British cast.

What was most objectionable about the German was not their officers against the body, which rarely entered the body, but their officers against the men, which destroyed the sympathy of life. The same is true of the established order in Britain. This established order has wrought great physical evil in the world, but the physical evil is not so important as the evil arising from its official righteousness, its hypocrisy and pride. The peak of official Britain is the dominating political fact of the

world today. Sir Archibald Gairdner is only one of its cruder spokesmen. Besides Gairdner we have Lloyd George, Asquith Chamberlain, Robert Cecil, Balfour, Winston Churchill, and even intellectuals like Gilbert Murray and E. M. Forster. Most of Oxford and Cambridge, most of the army and the navy, the church and the services and the legal profession, all the schools and the grain dealers and the trades, join together in the league of similar pride. As a new experience, the apex of every free man is in conflict with the prevailing cast of Britain. Call the Empire a "Commonwealth of nations," and the offence is not denied. The established order, the privileged class, is trying to impose on the world a version of British conduct, British inspiration, British policy, which indicates every man who wishes to live his own free judgment in respect of government and the rule of right.

There are strong words, but so are there men just finished. Ellen N. La Motte's book *The Opium Monopoly* (published by The Macmillan Company) can tell they are unshaken by fact. There is more evidence in the world against the British Empire than the evidence of the opium monopoly, but that

evidence alone is enough to make every politician of the Auckland Cordon, *Goldies* declares that the policy of Britain is consequently (1) to bring order out of chaos, (2) to extend the boundaries of freedom, (3) to improve the lot of the oppressed. Each of these services is made subservient by the Blue Book evidence assembled and displayed by Miss La Motte. In the Far East, as she proves, the British government (1) brings chaos in the form of government upon into economic anarchy, (2) extends the boundaries of the dog-hat for and wags, (3) fosters the opium habit on the oppressed. And the British government gains two things by encouraging and extending the use of opium: it gains revenue and it gains security. It undermines native morale and at the same time makes money by doing so. Miss freely says that she can, however, in the company that she accompanies them. The worst drug that the British monopolies use on opium, but the drug of Christian righteousness with which they kill the world.

Miss La Motte is an American. Travelling with another lady in the Far East in 1916 they met a young Hindu on the boat to Japan and for the first time they learned, or realized, that the growth and consumption of opium was fostered by the Indian government. Miss La Motte and her friend observed the indignation of the young Hindu, but they thought he must be mistaken, and they decided to look into the matter for themselves. They visited Japan, China, Hongkong, French Indo-China, Siam and Singapore. They discovered that the Hindu was not mistaken. They "found a thorough and complete anal-

balance of the opium traffic, run by the government, as a monopoly. Revenue was derived through the sale of opium, through excise taxes upon opium, and through license fees paid by the holders of opium shops and devices. A complete, systematic arrangement, by which the foreign government (realized in the opinion of the subject people under its rule. "In European countries and in America, we found the governments making every effort to suppress the sale of habit-forming drugs. Here, in the Far East, a systematic attitude prevails. The government makes every effort to encourage and extend it."

The facts as to the opium monopoly are not denied by official reports. In a first official report that Miss La Motte collects her data. She shows that, despite the prohibitions of the opium trade in China, the manufacture of opium continues steadily shared in India, and the product continues to be sold by the government. She shows that on the Straits Settlements \$2,125,000 out of the revenue of \$2,677,104 is derived from opium. She shows that Siam is powerless to exclude opium in against the will of Britain. She shows that one-third of the revenue of Hongkong is derived from the opium monopoly. She reveals the gross collectivism of Bangkok, deriving its revenue from "opium, gambling, private shops and street," under the guise of "constant interference for the welfare of the people." India, with its large increase in the revenue from opium consumed within the peninsula, is another victim in to Britain's extending the boundaries of freedom and improving the lot of the oppressed British North Borneo, British Ghana,

and Mauritius, are also described, and Miss La Motte gives a history of the opium trade in China, with mention of those first policy in London and Eilat laugh that ship smuglers in huge quantities from Japan into China.

Of course, it will be said that Miss La Motte, though an American, does not view this matter calmly and impartially. It will be said that she is biased and anti-British. As a matter of fact, there is no trace in her book of any thing except distressed idealism, and a hatred of the evil she portrays. Once we know this is accurate, that is the only sign the given is not being reasonable or unsensational. But who can help being sarcastic in the face of a Christian government that is officially in the business of manufacturing drug-habit and moral sickness?

It is not merely reasonable to be sarcastic or outraged. It is necessary. The British government has for years striven to create the myth of its own impossibility. It has modified Baskin's Hat and Coleman's Mustard and Crane and Bartholomew's Jam as willing in the world the notion of British justice, British pluck, British straight forwardness, British doggedness, British honesty, British simplicity and British fair play. Not all these traits are discarded from

British government in that they have of fixed perspective of facts in the world at large. What Britain should and should not be and should be and should be the power organizations? Certainly not, however was it revealed in a man's hand. This contradiction, in my belief, is the kind of relevant fact that the world must come to recognize. The myth created by the British establishment must be severely destroyed.

When the most despotic myth is destroyed, then there is some chance for justice and fair play even under the British system. But we cannot replace the Golden myth. To attack it is to accuse British pride? Unfortunately not, but the best Englishmen and Scotchmen do not interpret their pride between this myth and any criticism of it. They know that even the Golden have always talked against common. The pride of those humble Britain has international harmony. It is not self-glorification. It is the glorification of equality rather than superiority the glorification of human cooperation rather than human competition. Until these ideas came to the top, however, the British government remains a government of cast. It talks Christian talk to placate the loyal subjects but it person half the world on the side.

## America to India

By SHERRY NOLAN.

Across the long miles that separate us, across vast of the Asiatic millions struggling to be free. The message thrills us. We rejoice to know that the

people in the cradle of the human race are awakening at last, that our distant kinsmen, our brother members of the human family have made up their minds

to share with the laborer of to-morrow and the craft done of to-day.

We, in the West, have been making the same effort. We have been journeying along the same pathway that leads to freedom. We have learned our lesson against the sharp rocks and filled our hearts with tears as we reached out to keep ourselves from falling. We have made grievous mistakes, which you, knowing all, may perhaps avoid.

First, we have learned that slavery exists wherever one man is one class of men can say to another man or to another class,—"You work, and toil, and earn bread, and I'll eat it!" Further, we have learned that the chief means of perpetuating slavery is through the ownership, by the master, of the tools with which the laborer must work. You are striving, today, as we did two centuries ago, for political liberty. Be wary that, in securing it, you do not fence upon yourselves economic slavery. Look to Russia! Study her experiments closely, for her people are striving to win political and economic self-government together. Have you village life, as upon her village life, you may build the structure of a wholly new society.

You will hear fair words spoken,—words of compassion; naming inductive words that would lead the ages themselves along like paths. There is but one true path—the path toward liberation and the next step along that path is the ownership, by the workers, of the land and tools upon which the maintenance of life depends. Those who own the tools of livelihood own the workers who use the tools. The worker will not even himself want to own his job.

Each worker craves such a separate job. In the old days of the individual farm and the hand loom, it was possible for each worker to own his own tools and his own plot of land. The industrial and the factory have made such a thing impossible by creating a new and world-horn of the toad. Collective ownership, by the workers, is the next stage in the process of liberation.

How shall this collective ownership be secured? Only through the abolition of those who work—voluntarily within each nation;—voluntarily among the workers of all the nations.

Too long have the workers of one craft used in the light of workers from another craft. Too long have the workers of one nation destroyed the property and the lives of the workers from other nations. The workers of the world have a common enemy—to be done. They have a common land—their lives of labor. Also they must have a common means—the unity of all who work.

Those who produce the world's wealth are its priests, its government. They create money—dollars for dollars upon the paper—the value of the wealth that they produce. There is no room in the new world, for any who exist upon eating, without working. They who would share in the products of the common labor must liberate by willing to share in the toil of making the common product. This is the land that holds the workers together—that unites them to strive after liberation.

The War shows the East. The lesson of liberty in America requires to know that their fellow-workers in India are absorbed in the struggle for freedom.

## American Labor and India

By A. M. K. DOWNS.

What can American labor do in an east like India? It is a problem, at first glance it would seem, beyond solution. Great masses divide the two countries. Wages, working hours, standards of living, political conditions and education are ages apart. The labor of this land does not come into contact with the labor of India. There can be no comparison where there are only differences and possible enmities. American labor is the best paid labor in the world. It is well-organized, enjoys the best living conditions and more cultured possibilities than any other. And there is no possibility of assistance to all India, including that of India. And there is no obligation of American labor to the labor of the world.

Labor in India borders on starvation. Twelve and fourteen hours constitute a day's work in mills, mines and workshops, and for a miserable pittance—unbearable to American labor. "In the best paid Bombay mills, the skilled workmen get less than \$12.50 per month, while an ordinary workman gets less than \$3.50 a month, including a few bonus. These wages are always two or three weeks in arrears, he gets and not until the wages are even less than these." It is labor starvation, without expression and devoid of hope. This is the condition of labor under British supervision in India.

The object and aim of labor the world over is one. The chief concern

is individual effort in the betterment of individual conditions. This comes only through opportunity and economic advancement. Where labor is ill-paid, underfed, exploited to the limit, the individual holds a low place in the social scale. He is denied the natural superiority for self-development. He is a slave. And the chance of the laborer is the self betterment of the man. The result is a race of slaves, bound to the wheel of eternal toil. Great wealth is always accompanied by great poverty. There is just as much of material things in the world, and where the few get an overabundance the many must suffer less. The producer is sacrificed to the consumer. And this is the situation in India.

The whole world is now in an unbalanced condition. Great wars create a few individuals. The burden of loss falls on the many. They are called upon to pay tribute in order that a few may thrive. Holdings of land and the unequal distribution of material wealth have been the cause of all wars. Ethical principles have served as a shield for economic hoards. And from such conditions new economic slavery results.

Self-interest is the great incentive to action. It is always necessary to point the way to individual profit before there can be any collective movement toward amelioration of conditions. The individual must recognize that he is only a unit in a collective whole embracing the

world. The current individual profit comes through collective prosperity. It is a short-sighted vision that can not so flourish than the dreams of the land. Capital recognizes no boundaries. Labor must not. Under the present system the only direct benefit is to the industrial and capitalist classes of the world. From it is developed the political and commercial domination of capital and the impoverishment of labor. This is the real "barrier to American labor." Labor must realize in the fact that the capitalists of Europe—which is the capitalists of America—already has its inevitable and inexorable iron fastened on two-thirds of the human race in Asia, and through the exploitation of native labor is developing the advanced cultural resources of Asia. This advanced human energy, this cheap labor of Asia, is being used to produce material for the markets of Europe, and eventually for the markets of America, and will come into competition with American labor. The sole benefit is to the capitalist class of the world.

The order must change. Labor is only half awake to its opportunity, and is wholly asleep to its obligations. The true internationalism must take on a new meaning. There is no other way. On every side labor can see in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the South Seas in the remotest parts of the world, wherever there are unemployed natural resources—capital well connected, watchfully waiting the prospective moment when by the exploitation of cheap labor it can open up new fields of disproportionate gain to itself. It should be an object lesson to Labor.

Internationalization of Capital must

be met by an internationalization of Labor. The great economic current must be fought out along this line. Organized labor in the United States can not view with indifference the exploitation of unorganized labor in foreign lands. If progress, well-paid, thinking American labor would find proposed safety for itself a most serious in education, its current checking to some measure of satisfaction of labor conditions the world over. The labor of the world must arise in all time or all place.

The first move of American labor should be toward an international commission to inquire into conditions of labor in Asia, India, China, Siam, Persia and Turkey. It should investigate the factories—cotton and jute—and find out by whom owned, English or native, and the amount of capital invested. This commission should investigate financial conditions and living conditions in India, and learn to what extent Hindu labor is exploited. It should seek to learn the main link of the distribution in labor of labor between Europe and Asia—which is already becoming more based on the sale of labor of the two countries. Some consideration of a sympathetic attitude would encourage labor in India to accept organization of labor for themselves. They must be educated in this idea.

American labor is demanding not only the right of labor, but a few of the privileges that are being so prodigally distributed throughout the world. With it must come a recognition of the responsibilities of labor, including the world as an arena of influence.

## Book Reviews

### Books Received

Macmillan & Co.

*The Soul of Ireland—Loughran,  
Scribe in the Pastoral World—Russell  
Gladly by the Ticker—Petersen—Yates  
Bacon  
The Opium Mania—Hillier & La  
Motte*

Alfred A. Knopf

*The Traveler's Guide—Hudson  
Beloved Russia—Hutchins*

Richard G. Rodgers, the Grafton Press

*Autumn's Children of Life in India—Ladd  
Hawsons Days & Hours  
David Foster—Holt*

A. C. Swarley

*A Passion in the Free Country—Cowley*

Dodd, Mead & Co.

*Invited A Nation—Lynn*

Hayward Publishing House

*The Treasurer of Mayfield—O. J.  
Schmidt*

See Wit Press

*Amsterdam and the Paper Workers—  
Robert E. Cory*

Charles Scribner

*Traveling the Atlantic*

Van Nostrand Press

*Local Reconstruction in Ireland—Stark  
Carrigan*

*The Soul of Ireland* By W. J. Loughran  
With an Introduction by Gilbert Cramer  
Inc. Macmillan & Co., New York.

"The Soul of Ireland" has a most telling story and impact. William Loughran has received eminently by the Roman Catholic Church. All social, geographical, political and economic factors are swept aside in a thoughtful, deeply, probably very convincing in the world, but not very correct out of discussing to the contrary. It is true that numerous studies have defined upon Ireland but which religion was the correct rather than the same, it is true that in these latter years the priests, who it had been to themselves, stood by the people with conviction, unswerving con-

science, none the less the Irish problem cannot be so extravagantly simplified and it is no less true that the Church has always positively served the cause of Ireland's freedom. There has not been much lack in Ireland's life of nerve and imagination and her people are not wholly uneducated. If Ireland is to win through her dark mission to progress and freedom it will be by refusing any assistance outside and instead within many of which are too specifically opposed by the Church. Peace, indeed, has some mountains too which it seems to a long and weary fight with a rich highly trained, superbly equipped and heavily determined adversary, hard enemies, more, a stout and flexible guard a shrewd grasp of facts and possibilities are quite indispensable. The kingdom of God will not come in Ireland as long as the walls of Dublin Castle stand. May well those walls fall before foreign marching or standing, no, one must believe that and greater values they are not sustained by words.

Really it should be recognized that Jew and Hindu also have had to face in their own great institutions than the Irish, and that they have been sustained by religious beliefs that are not expressed through the rules of the Roman Catholic Church. What is needed now is not religious persecution, but of all the religious bias of religious conflicts, but rather a genuine and friendly recognition of the fact that the oppressed of the world, under a common affliction and that their wrongs are but their own with no equal voice Ireland of Ireland. By Robert Lynn (University editor of the London Daily News)  
Dodd, Mead & Co., New York

This is one of the most interesting and useful books that have recently appeared about Ireland. It is a realistic and informative account of the Irish people and their country, and although a series of relatively independent studies, it is unified by a common and a religious passion for freedom that fills every page. Freedom without which there can be no development for the people, the freedom for the people, the people and Ireland is by every spiritual and moral value, by traditional religious laws and common reason, a determined



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